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Fifty-eighth year

Provisional

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Thursday, 21 August 2003, 10.30 a.m.

New York

<i>President:</i>	Mr. Mekdad	(Syrian Arab Republic)
<i>Members:</i>	Angola	Mr. Lucas
	Bulgaria	Mr. Tafrov
	Cameroon	Mr. Tidjani
	Chile	Mr. Muñoz
	China	Mr. Zhang Yishan
	France	Mr. Duclos
	Germany	Mr. Trautwein
	Guinea	Mr. Sow
	Mexico	Mr. Aguilar Zinser
	Pakistan	Mr. Akram
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	Spain	Mr. Arias
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir Emyr Jones Parry
	United States of America	Mr. Negroponte

Agenda

The situation between Iraq and Kuwait.

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The meeting was called to order at 10.40 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation between Iraq and Kuwait

The President (*spoke in Arabic*): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

At this meeting, the Security Council will hear briefings by His Excellency Sir Emyr Jones Parry, the representative of the United Kingdom, and by His Excellency Mr. John Negroponte, the representative of the United States.

I now give the floor to Mr. John Negroponte, the representative of the United States.

Mr. Negroponte (United States of America): On 22 May, this body joined together to help the Iraqi people recover from decades of repression, wilful neglect and isolation. We adopted a framework to enable the Coalition Provisional Authority, the United Nations Member States and others in the international community to contribute to Iraq's reconstruction.

At that time, my Government and the United Kingdom committed to informing the Council on a quarterly basis of progress in implementing resolution 1483 (2003). We had looked forward to this opportunity to inform the Council in detail about coalition activities and efforts to illustrate our commitment to fostering the conditions in which the Iraqi people could chart their own future and to seek the Council's continued support for this unprecedented undertaking.

But, like everyone gathered here, as well as friends and colleagues in countries all over the world, our step is a little slower today, our smiles a bit forced, as we begin to come to grips with the truly inestimable loss of Sergio Vieira de Mello and other United Nations officials and Iraqi staff members who perished on Tuesday.

It has been only three short months since resolution 1483 (2003) was adopted and, in that brief period, Sergio and his devoted staff energetically seized the mandate awarded by the Council and forged

a path for United Nations contributions to Iraq's reconstruction. For nearly 60 years, the United Nations has been a partner and friend to people in need all over the world. United Nations employees who freely choose to help in Iraq are unarmed civilian professionals who have devoted their talents and energies to public service. These good people are men and women from every background who lend a hand when we call. They are no man's enemy.

On behalf of the United States and the American people, I extend our deepest sympathies to the victims and their families. I also want to assure the Council that coalition forces are working closely with United Nations officials to ensure that the injured receive appropriate medical care. We greatly appreciate the many offers of assistance from other nations with the difficult, indeed, heartwrenching work at the site of the attack.

While we do not yet know the identities of those who perpetrated this hateful attack, we can surmise their motives: to restore the brutal reign of terror of the Saddam regime and the Baath party; to terrify those who wish to work with the international community to build a free and democratic Iraq; to create a new battleground in the global war between terrorists and civilized nations; to prevent the emergence of a new Iraq whose people live at peace among themselves and with their neighbours; and to threaten the foundation carefully laid since Iraq's liberation.

The Iraqi people, the coalition, the United Nations and others in the international community have laboured mightily over the past few months to build a new Iraq. With concrete support from the international community, the Iraqi people will realize the potential of their great nation. However, as Tuesday's attack painfully illustrates, we should be under no illusions about the enormity of the task.

Thirty years of unbridled tyranny have scarred and stunted the Iraqi body politic. The sustained lack of investment in human and material infrastructure has left Iraq ill equipped to meet the needs and challenges of the twenty-first century. Iraq must transform its failed statist economy into a functioning market-based system. Basic services must be fully restored, improved and expanded. The voice of the Iraqi people must be reclaimed from enforced silence and speak freely in a civil society through responsible media and through local and national elections. The rule of law, enshrined

in a new constitution and grounded in respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, must supplant rule by terror. The police and army must be transformed from instruments of oppression and brutality into professional institutions capable of ensuring order and security.

Resolution 1483 (2003) provided the framework for Iraq's regeneration. Since its adoption, one of the most significant accomplishments was the formation on 13 July of the 25-member Governing Council. It is now up to the Governing Council to guide the country through the sequence of events, naming ministers for an interim Government, drafting a constitution and holding elections that will lead to an internationally recognized representative Government.

For the first time in decades, Iraqi resources — including oil revenues, assets of the former regime and donor funds — are being spent for the benefit of the Iraqi people. The coalition, in coordination with the Governing Council, developed a budget for the remainder of 2003 of \$6.1 billion. The Governing Council has now taken the lead in developing a budget for the year 2004.

Allow me to highlight other important markers of progress. In all of these areas, the coalition has worked side by side with United Nations specialized agencies and, in many cases, the resulting achievements would not have been possible without their assistance and expertise.

We are working to improve economic conditions. Salaries, pensions and emergency payments inject \$20 million per month into the Iraqi economy. The coalition is buying wheat and barley crops from Iraqi farmers. Efforts are under way to establish an Iraqi trade bank and to put the banking system on line. Currency unification is set for the month of October.

In the field of security, we have initiated programmes to enable Iraqis to develop a capacity to foil the saboteurs who target their electrical infrastructure, oil industry and other sectors critical to Iraq's renewal. For example, we are in the process of organizing an Iraqi civil defence corps to work with coalition forces on security tasks, and we have also hired several thousand Iraqis into the Facilities Protection Service to provide security for critical infrastructure, Government facilities and cultural and educational assets.

We have taken major strides towards promoting a secure environment with an effective and professional police force. Tens of thousands of Iraqi police answered the call to return to work for the betterment of their country, and recruitment and training is under way to put thousands more on the streets. There are currently nearly 38,000 police officers patrolling throughout the country, some 6,000 of whom are in Baghdad. Our ultimate goal is to have approximately 65,000 police countrywide. We have also worked hard with the Iraqis to refurbish and reopen police stations, courts and prisons around the country. Some countries have already contributed expertise, trainers or equipment to support police programmes in Iraq, most notably Canada, Denmark, Singapore and South Korea. We will need the help of other countries to build an effective and durable Iraqi police force.

It is a basic task of security sector reform in Iraq to make permanent the demilitarization of the internal security structures of the Saddam regime. However, as it resumes full control of its affairs, Iraq will need a military for self-defence. Accordingly, we have started training the new Iraqi army. We are supporting Governing Council efforts to develop the institutional and legal framework necessary to ensure that the new Iraq's national security policy and national security institutions are under democratic, civilian control and can maintain Iraq's security in a secure region.

Just as with our civilian police and other security reform initiatives, the Iraqi people and the coalition welcome and need the participation of the international community in these efforts to help bring security and stability to Iraq. Many countries have already rallied to this effort. More than 30 nations have sent or committed forces to promote stability in Iraq, and we are continuing our efforts to secure contributions from others.

The timing of Tuesday's attack was no accident. It occurred at a critical juncture, when the impact of initial plans and efforts has begun to take positive effect. A secure, democratic and stable Iraq is a threat and a target for those who would turn the clock back to the days of tyranny. In the face of this attempt to sabotage the future of Iraq, there is only one response available to us if we are to live up to the principles of our Charter. The members of this body must unreservedly stand together. We must invigorate our struggle against terrorism and aggressively implement measures to prevent and suppress acts of terrorism and

we must solidify and enhance our support for security and stability in Iraq in order to foster an environment in which the people of Iraq freely determine their own future.

Members of this body can best honour the legacy of those who died on Tuesday with a sustained and unwavering commitment to build a better Iraq.

The President (*spoke in Arabic*): I now give the floor to His Excellency Sir Emyr Jones Parry, the representative of the United Kingdom.

Sir Emyr Jones Parry (United Kingdom): I join Ambassador Negroponte in expressing horror and outrage at the events of Tuesday. Above all, we share the sadness at the loss of Sergio Vieira de Mello and other United Nations officials and Iraqi staff. As with all our friends and colleagues among the United Nations staff in New York and worldwide, Sergio and his team won our admiration and respect for their unflinching commitment to improving the situation of the people of Iraq and carrying forward the ideals of the United Nations.

The progress that Ambassador Negroponte and I are outlining today is almost across the board, the result of the coalition and the United Nations working together. The challenges that remain we will face together. But because today our resolve is even stronger to help the Iraqi people win the prosperous, stable future that they deserve, we cannot allow a small minority to hijack their future. Our goals in Iraq are clear and have been set out repeatedly by the Security Council: the achievement of a free, sovereign Iraq run by the people of Iraq for the people of Iraq and achieved as quickly as possible.

But we have to recognize the difficulties that any State faces in moving from conflict to a stable, peaceful and law-abiding democracy. Experience in the Balkans and in Africa underlines the common difficulties that always exist. The transition to justice, dealing with the crimes of the past, developing law and a legal system and having effective policing and a judiciary and a penal system are all essential but hard won necessities to civic society.

The United Nations has much experience in helping to organize elections, but the task is difficult, painstaking and time-consuming. But representative government is much more than elections. You need electoral laws and political parties. How are manifestos

to be communicated? How do people campaign freely? How do you embed democratic practice? And do you have the political will to deliver that and work together for those aims?

I could go on to enumerate a lot of other areas, not least economic. But my essential point is that the challenge of construction is always great, and Iraq, of course, is more difficult in many ways, because we are starting from over 30 years of Saddam's repression and abuse of Iraq and its people. I suspect that the international community as a whole underestimated how much fundamental damage had been caused to the fabric of Iraq and its society by such a pernicious regime.

Ambassador Negroponte touched on security and the economy. I will aim to cover humanitarian activities, the contribution made by the Coalition Provisional Authority to Iraqi efforts to establish local institutions for representative governance and the commitment to ensuring human rights, and legal and judicial reform.

Turning to the first of those — humanitarian activities and the provision of basic services — food distribution systems are fully restored. But, to move on, we need to look beyond the end of the oil-for-food programme. We are conducting poverty and vulnerability surveys in order to identify where continued support will be needed.

In the field of health care, all 240 hospitals in Iraq are now functioning. With the help of the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), over 22 million doses of vaccines for measles, tuberculosis, hepatitis B, diphtheria, whooping cough, tetanus and polio have been provided, enough to vaccinate 4.2 million children. The cholera season is now over. Prompt action kept the number of confirmed cases this year down to 65, well below the average.

We are reinvigorating the education system countrywide, distributing 1.2 million student kits and 3,900 school kits. By the end of June, most schools were open. We have launched an upgrade of school facilities, and we are reviewing all textbooks and their availability. By the end of December, 70 million revised textbooks will have been printed.

The water sector continues to be a priority. We have repaired more than 130 critical breaks in the network. However, as we have seen spectacularly, the

network has been badly hit by highly organized sabotage, exacerbated by a shortage of parts and chemicals. But projects are in hand, in Baghdad and elsewhere, to upgrade existing treatment plants and to build new ones to the benefit of 11.5 million people.

I could turn to representative governance. We have already noted the establishment of the Governing Council to lead the country to elections and to appoint a representative government. The Council is our partner in many decisions concerning the administration of Iraq. The Governing Council has set up a constitutional preparatory committee, which is now meeting to organize countrywide consultations on a future constitution. It has worked up a strategy for consulting and involving civil society in that work. It will be reporting back to the Governing Council by mid-September.

We are also working to ensure representative Iraqi institutions at the local level, where many of the decisions most affecting individuals are, of course, made. Every major Iraqi city now has a local government. We are in the process of deploying teams to help build up Iraqi provincial government, and the Coalition is committed to including women in all phases and at all levels in the reconstruction of Iraq.

On human rights and legal and judicial reform, we are working to support the creation of a culture in which human rights are respected. Human rights and the rule of law must be central to the building of representative, democratic institutions in Iraq.

We are working to ensure transitional justice. International forensic teams have conducted initial assessments of more than 60 of the 150 reported mass graves. A team is collecting witness testimonies and documents. We are working on the preservation of evidence, and we hope shortly to begin to develop a national Iraqi bureau of missing persons. Nothing could be a harsher indictment than us having to do that.

We are supporting efforts to strengthen civil society and human rights education in Iraq. We have disseminated information and training on basic human rights entitlements and protections guaranteed by international law.

The restoration of law and order rests in part on the development of a fully functioning and effective justice system. We have repaired more than 450 court premises and scores of prison facilities countrywide. A

Judicial Review Committee comprising equal numbers of Coalition and Iraqi members is in the process of screening judges and prosecutors. A central criminal court for some of the most highly regarded jurists in Iraq has been established as a model of judicial integrity and fairness to handle cases of special importance or with national significance.

If I may move to the conclusion, no member of the Council should underestimate the difficulty or the importance of the undertaking in which we are engaged. Saddam repressed Iraq for more than three decades. He squandered the wealth of Iraq. The State-run economy is in desperate need of reform, with 60 per cent unemployment and no serious investment in infrastructure for decades. Iraq's people are still coming to terms with the fact that hundreds of thousands of their countrymen were killed by their own Government.

While no one should underestimate the challenge, neither should they underestimate our sustained commitment, working alongside the United Nations, with the people of Iraq. We cannot afford to fail. The international community owes it to Iraq. A prosperous and stable Iraq, a prominent member of the international community, will be a success and a tribute to Sergio Vieira de Mello and the staff who lost their lives. We share the goals for Iraq, and our views on means of delivery are converging. We have rightly responded to the terrible events of this week by reaffirming our determination to act together to build a better future for Iraq.

The United Kingdom believes that it is right to respond by stepping up international involvement in all elements of assistance to the Iraqi people, to coping with the security problems and to developing the economic and political aspects.

It is timely that we should examine again the ways in which we, the international community — international institutions and individual countries — can all manifest our solidarity with Iraq by reinforcing current involvement. The needs are quite clear. The question is how can the United Nations do more to accelerate political process, where we have an increasingly common perception of what needs to be done in Iraq. How can we speed up support for reconstruction and economic development? We need to enhance security. What does the Security Council need to do, better to help those nations wishing to contribute

to be able to do so? How can we meet the different policing needs in Iraq, Iraq's relations with the neighbouring countries, the security of the unitary State and the protection of its borders? They are all issues which are germane and crucial. So, what is the scope for action which would further the achievement of a successful Iraq? The United Kingdom very much hopes that in the coming days the Security Council can constructively debate those issues.

The President (*spoke in Arabic*): I now give the floor to the members of the Security Council. As there is no list of speakers, I invite those Council members who wish to take the floor to so indicate to the Secretariat as from now.

Mr. Duclos (France) (*spoke in French*): Like the entire international community, France is still in a state of shock over the terrible attack perpetrated against the United Nations in Baghdad on 19 August, which cost Sergio Vieira De Mello and a number of his colleagues their lives and wounded dozens of others. In such painful circumstances, in which we do not yet know the fate of many individuals, our meeting today, which had long been planned to hear the briefing by the Coalition Authority, can only be deeply affected by this. Our thoughts go to the victims and the wounded, to their families and to United Nations and humanitarian staff in the field.

It is undoubtedly too soon to draw any final lessons or to take any decisions on the political implications. Simplistic, black-and-white explanations should be avoided. All of us — the United Nations, Council members and the coalition Authority — should remain humble. We must take time for analysis and reflection, beginning with some soul searching and a precise analysis of the situation in all its complexity. We believe that now is the time to identify the questions and begin to reflect on ways of answering them.

In that spirit, I thank the United States and United Kingdom delegations for the detailed briefings that they have just presented. We listened with the greatest attention to the information that they gave the Council, and we shall very carefully study it.

Extreme transparency is necessary if we wish to see things clearly and act effectively for Iraq's speedy recovery of its independence and sovereignty. Our goal for Iraq and the Iraqis, a country and a people with a highly developed and ancient civilization, has not

changed. It remains now more than ever to ensure a rapid political transition that will lead to the end of the country's occupation and enable the Iraqis to regain their sovereignty in the framework of a regime that respects the basic rights and freedoms of all.

The sine qua non for the successful economic and political reconstruction of Iraq clearly lies in the restoration of security and public order. Pending the full restoration of Iraqi sovereignty, that responsibility falls first of all to the occupying Powers pursuant to international law, particularly the Hague Regulations and the Geneva Conventions, which were recalled in Security Council resolutions 1472 (2003) and 1483 (2003).

What happened on Tuesday, 19 August — which had been preceded by other attacks against civilian targets — is heinous, and the perpetrators must be condemned and brought to justice. What occurred nevertheless tragically shows that security remains the priority problem in Iraq and that the way of resolving it must be reviewed in depth. Iraq has become, unfortunately, a theatre of operations for terrorists.

There are, of course, many levels of response. We are first thinking about security measures and mechanisms to ensure the safety of people and goods in Iraq, whether this concerns the United Nations, the Iraqis or foreign diplomatic or humanitarian personnel. The United Nations, in Iraq and elsewhere, cannot carry out the mandate with which the Security Council has entrusted it unless the conditions to fulfil it are established, particularly concerning security. We must collectively consider this serious problem concerning the United Nations missions throughout the world.

Regarding Iraq, I would be grateful to the United States and United Kingdom delegations for any clarifications that they could make on existing machinery. What is the mechanism for disseminating and exchanging information among the Authority, the United Nations and the foreign missions in Iraq? What is the warning mechanism? What specific protection measures are in place? What qualitative and quantitative reinforcement measures have been planned? How can the civil and humanitarian institutions and personnel be protected while fully respecting their independence and preventing them from being in any way confused with the military occupation forces?

There are no easy answers. The answer to the challenge of terrorism and violence cannot only be a matter of security and military force. The solution is above all political as well. To escape from the trap set by terrorists, which is a strategy of creating chaos and a vacuum, Iraqis must be given back their responsibilities and their sovereignty in the shortest term and in a clearly defined sequence of events.

The Secretary-General had pointed this out in his report last month. The report states: "There is a pressing need to set out a clear and specific sequence of events leading to the end of military occupation" (S/2003/715, para. 107). Sergio Vieira de Mello himself echoed this statement before the Council last month. France is convinced that political transition will have all the more chance of succeeding if it is led by the Iraqis themselves, with the help not of the occupation forces but of the entire international community, embodied by the United Nations.

As my delegation stated last month, it seems to us that only the United Nations has the legitimacy, impartiality and expertise to ensure the effectiveness of the process of restoring State authority. It is essential to preserve its independence, which is a guarantee of its legitimacy. France is also convinced that the stabilization of Iraq depends on the ability to promptly deal with the crimes and human rights violations committed by the regime of Saddam Hussain and on the capacity to establish machinery for national reconciliation, transitional justice and the promotion of respect for human rights. In that regard, I would also be very grateful to the United States and United Kingdom delegations for any additional clarifications that they might give us.

Lastly, a final aspect that I believe should be mentioned in connection with the security problem is proliferation. We still do not have any details on weapons of mass destruction that the regime of Saddam Hussain was said to have held. If they do indeed exist, we can only be concerned over the fact that they cannot be found in a context of terrorist acts.

In that regard, it also seems to us that it is absolutely essential for the Security Council to reconsider the mandate of the United Nations Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission (UNMOVIC) within a reasonable time, as it has promised to do. France continues to believe that

UNMOVIC must play a central role in verifying and certifying Iraq's effective disarmament.

The joint mobilization of the entire international community is the second basic requirement for the successful economic and political reconstruction of Iraq. That will be possible only if the coalition authorities acknowledge that they cannot succeed alone and if they play their role in a completely transparent manner. In a world of equal and sovereign nations, sharing burdens and responsibilities also means sharing information and authority. The international community, and in particular the United Nations, can play a central and effective role only if the reconstruction process begun by the coalition authorities is transparent in every way, especially in the political, economic and financial spheres. There must also be a clear allocation and delineation of roles and responsibilities.

Economic reconstruction also requires the establishment of a timetable. We agree with the idea of holding a donors' conference in October, especially given that the international community should be fully informed about how the Coalition Provisional Authority is using Iraq's financial and oil resources. Nevertheless, as surprising as it may seem, to date we are still lacking the key instrument provided for in resolution 1483 (2003) to ensure ongoing international monitoring of the use of Iraqi resources, namely the International Advisory and Monitoring Board of the Development Fund for Iraq (IAMB). We believe that it is essential for that body to be established without any further delay. We also believe that it should have the full authority and capacity to carry out effective monitoring of the use of funds, as outlined in paragraphs 13 and 14 of resolution 1483 (2003).

France is extremely concerned about the current situation in Iraq. We vigorously condemn terrorist acts. Today we must face the terrible question of whether we would be in the same situation today if, under the supervision of the United Nations, a genuine international partnership and comprehensive approach to security, political, economic and social problems had been established at the outset. Everything possible must now be done to avoid prolonged instability and the rise of terrorism in Iraq, a phenomenon that is morally repugnant and reprehensible regardless of its source and which would also present a mortal danger to the Iraqi people. That means comprehensively revising

the strategy pursued thus far in order that peace may prevail.

Mr. Trautwein (Germany): I would like to thank the representatives of the United States and the United Kingdom for the comprehensive update on the general situation in Iraq, the efforts being undertaken to restructure and reform that country and the implementation of Security Council resolution 1483 (2003), as well as for their assessment of the situation following the insidious terror attacks on the headquarters of the United Nations last Tuesday.

We share with the whole Secretariat the deeply felt grief over the loss of close friends and colleagues, among them Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, Special Representative for Iraq, who was a truly remarkable civil servant and representative of the United Nations, as well as others with whom we had developed not only professional but also very often deep personal relationships. They and their work will not be forgotten.

Tuesday's incident has clarified the magnitude of the challenge that we are facing in Iraq. However, that does not change the strategic objectives that the international community is pursuing in that country. The first of those objectives is the restoration of security countrywide. Pursuant to resolution 1483 (2003) and in accordance with international law, that is the ultimate responsibility of the coalition forces. The second objective is the economic and political rebuilding of Iraq, with the aim of fully restoring sovereignty.

Germany is involved in the humanitarian field and will continue to assist in that regard. We do not exclude further assistance in the civilian sector, thereby contributing to the political process.

From our point of view, the process of restoring sovereignty needs to be accelerated. In that respect, the Governing Council is only an intermediate first step on that path. The necessary basis for this process remains the vital role of the United Nations in Iraq. The more that role is strengthened, the more credibility and local, regional and international support it will gain.

We must seek ways to win the hearts of the Iraqi people. We believe that is directly linked to the concept of a time frame, which the Secretary-General presented in his July report (S/2003/715). It is also linked to the

perception, held by a large part of the Iraqi population, of an occupation by foreign forces.

The attack attempted to diminish the United Nations and the international community, as well as to isolate the coalition in Iraq. The stronger the role designed for the United Nations in Iraq, the more it will become evident that resistance against the United Nations and the international community is in fact directed against the aspirations of the Iraqi people to live in peace and end their suffering. As the Secretary-General has pointed out, we owe it to Sergio Vieira de Mello that the Coalition Provisional Authority, the United Nations, the international community and the Iraqi population now come together.

Mr. Tafrov (Bulgaria) (*spoke in French*): Last Tuesday's terrorist attack against the United Nations headquarters in Baghdad profoundly shocked and upset my country. On behalf of the Bulgarian Government, I should like to extend the sincerest condolences of the Bulgarian people to the families of those who were killed in the attack and our sympathy to the wounded and to their families.

Sergio Vieira de Mello was an outstanding international civil servant who, through his spirit of self-sacrifice and his dynamism, made his mark on parts of the world as varied as Timor-Leste and Kosovo. We will never forget him.

It seems to us that, even as rescue teams continue to search the rubble of the Canal Hotel, the best way to honour the memory of Sergio Vieira de Mello and his colleagues is to continue the work they began in Iraq, so that the Iraqi people can take charge once again of their own destiny and build the free and democratic Iraq that the terrorists who killed them do not wish to see.

It comes as no surprise that no group has yet claimed responsibility for the heinous act committed in Baghdad. Evil sometimes dares not show its face to a horrified international community. For this reason, we must fight this evil with even greater vigour and unity.

I should like to thank Ambassador Negroponte and Sir Emyr Jones Parry for their reports on the situation in Iraq three months after the adoption of resolution 1483 (2003). I am deeply impressed by the scope of the work that the United States and the United Kingdom have done in Iraq in terms of the political and economic reconstruction of the country.

The news coming out of the country, which is sometimes a source of concern, does not always enable us to see the good work done by the international community to help the Iraqis to build the Iraq that we all want.

My country, Bulgaria, is among those deeply committed to the process of stabilization and reconstruction in Iraq. In terms of security, Bulgaria has contributed a battalion which has been deployed in the Karbala region. My country is also prepared to contribute its expertise and its resources to the United Nations Assistance Mission in Iraq (UNAMI).

We deem crucial that at this time the international community, through the United Nations, regain its unity and help the Iraqi people to take charge of its own destiny. Bulgaria continues to attach importance to the central role of the Organization in the political and economic reconstruction of Iraq. We believe that the United Nations has the necessary expertise and experience to do outstanding work in Iraq. The clearest evidence of this is the work that was accomplished by Sergio Vieira de Mello and his colleagues.

Regarding the political process, we believe that the creation of the interim Governing Council is an important step in the creation of an internationally recognized Iraqi Government. We are convinced that, through this process, Iraq will regain its full sovereignty and be able to make the extremely difficult transition from an internationally isolated authoritarian regime to a democratic Iraq that is fully involved in the international arena and at peace with its neighbours.

Bulgaria will continue to contribute to the work of the United Nations in Iraq. Of course, we must consider ways to enhance the security of United Nations staff in Iraq and everywhere else in the world. But Tuesday's terrorist attack should not deter us from following the course charted by Sergio Vieira de Mello towards an increasingly important and active role of the United Nations in Iraq.

Resolution 1500 (2003), which created UNAMI, is an excellent foundation for this work. It is important that the mandate entrusted to it by the Security Council be fully implemented.

Before concluding, I should like to reiterate Bulgaria's belief that only if there is unity within the Council can Iraq regain its full sovereignty and take

charge of its future, which can only be one of freedom and democracy.

Mr. Zhang Yishan (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): The nineteenth of August 2003 was for us a day of shock and sorrow. A violent terrorist attack struck the United Nations headquarters in Baghdad, resulting in heavy casualties. The Chinese Government strongly condemns this heinous attack against United Nations personnel.

China's President, Hu Jintao, has issued a statement on this incident and has conveyed, on behalf of the Chinese Government and people, our condolences to the bereaved families and our sincere sympathy to the wounded. The Chinese Foreign Minister, Li Zhaoxing, has also sent a telegram to the Secretary-General.

Of particular sadness to us is the fact that this incident caused the unfortunate death of Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General. In his service of more than 30 years to the United Nations, Mr. Vieira de Mello worked tirelessly for the maintenance of peace. His passing is indeed a huge loss for the United Nations. However, his dedication, courage and pursuit of peace and justice will always be remembered by people throughout the world.

The Chinese mission listened attentively to the statements made by the Ambassadors of the United States and the United Kingdom. We thank them for their briefings pursuant to Security Council resolution 1483 (2003), which will help us follow more closely the latest developments in Iraq.

The attack against the United Nations headquarters in Baghdad and the bombing of the Jordanian embassy in Iraq earlier this month prove once again that security remains the primary issue in Iraq today. The lack of security impedes the normal process of humanitarian assistance and political and economic reconstruction in Iraq. The early restoration of peace and stability to Iraq has become the most urgent priority. As the Secretary-General pointed out in his report of 17 July,

"the Coalition Provisional Authority, not the United Nations, was responsible for administering Iraq, for providing for the welfare of the people, and for restoring conditions of security and stability". (S/2003/715, para. 105)

We hope that, with active efforts on the part of the relevant parties, stability will be restored to Iraq at an early date and the security of United Nations personnel effectively ensured.

We welcome the active measures adopted by the Governing Council since its establishment to restore sovereignty, such as appointing administrative department leaders and laying the grounds for the formulation of a new constitution. We hope that these measures will be conducive to the early establishment of a broad-based new Government supported by the Iraqi people. It is our consistent view that reconstruction efforts in Iraq cannot succeed without the extensive participation and active cooperation of the international community. The United Nations should play an active and effective role in Iraq's reconstruction.

Despite the attack on the United Nations headquarters in Baghdad, we are convinced that the United Nations mission in Iraq will not be brought to an end. We hope that resolution 1500 (2003), adopted by the Security Council last week, will mark the beginning of a substantive United Nations role in Iraq. I wish to reiterate that China will continue, alongside the rest of the international community, to support the United Nations important role on the Iraqi issue and to help the Iraqi people restore stability and order as soon as possible.

Mr. Muñoz (Chile) (*spoke in Spanish*): I should like first to thank the Ambassadors of the United States and the United Kingdom for the information they have provided us on the unfolding events in Iraq. We feel that it is constructive for the members of the Security Council to receive such information and to make comments.

We fully understand the difficulty of discussing concrete achievements in a context so strongly marked by the events surrounding the deadly terrorist attack on the United Nations offices in Baghdad. We cannot pass up this opportunity to reiterate our firmest condemnation of that criminal attack and to emphasize the need to bring the perpetrators to justice. We have conveyed our condolences to the Secretary-General and, through him, to the families of the victims, in particular over the death of Sergio Vieira de Mello, a fellow Latin American and a brilliant diplomat. The United Nations has paid with human lives for its right to participate in the process of reconstructing Iraq.

Terrorism, which seeks the prevalence of hatred and violence over rationality and tolerance, is one of the greatest threats of our times. We have seen this in Baghdad and in Jerusalem. And yet, our struggle against terrorism cannot and must not be a series of isolated individual efforts. It must be a joint effort of the international community. These events confirm the truth of this assertion.

Despite our sorrow at the loss of the lives of international civil servants and Iraqi staff members of the United Nations in Baghdad, we must not allow these actions to divert us from the course towards the recovery by Iraq and its people of their full sovereignty. We know that the situation is highly complex and that new and greater efforts are required to stabilize the situation in Iraq.

In the view of the Chilean delegation, the new circumstances require the Council to focus its attention on two urgent and principal aspects. The first is the issue of the security of United Nations personnel throughout the world and, in particular, in Iraq. In this regard, we deem it necessary to review the measures that have been taken to date and to make any necessary corrections so as to avoid a recurrence of such distressing incidents as those of last Tuesday. We feel that this task must be undertaken jointly by the Security Council, the Secretariat and, of course, the representatives of the coalition forces in Iraq.

Secondly, we believe that, in the light of recent events, the Security Council must launch a process of seeking new mechanisms and different approaches to its future work in Iraq. In this respect, we believe that the starting point of such a process of reflection must be the decision, reaffirmed yesterday, to pursue the United Nations aims and purposes in Iraq. Any step backwards would signal the triumph of violence and terror. We believe that the Council is duty-bound to consider ways and means by which the United Nations and the international community can cooperate more actively in humanitarian tasks and in the reconstruction of Iraq in all its aspects.

Experience gained and mechanisms used in other regions, such as Afghanistan or Kosovo, may be useful in this regard. It may also be appropriate once again to consider a time frame for transition in Iraq, as proposed to the Council by the Secretary-General, in order to restore sovereignty to the Iraqi people as soon as possible.

Lastly, my delegation has no doubt that the stabilization and reconstruction of Iraq ultimately represent a test for and the responsibility of the entire international community.

Mr. Akram (Pakistan): This meeting had been scheduled to hear the briefing by the representatives of the United States and the United Kingdom, in accordance with the provisions of resolution 1483 (2003). We thank them for the report they have presented, which will be studied carefully by our authorities.

Sadly, this meeting has coincided with one of the most serious tragedies to affect the United Nations in its history. In Baghdad the United Nations was an innocent victim, a victim that was present in that country to help the people of Iraq under a specific mandate that was provided by the Security Council. Pakistan has expressed its deep sorrow over these tragic killings and injuries in Baghdad and has conveyed its sympathy to the bereaved families and the United Nations. The loss of Sergio Vieira de Mello and other friends and colleagues in Baghdad is indeed a deep blow to those of us who work at the United Nations. Pakistan has welcomed the statement of the Secretary-General that the United Nations will stay on in Iraq and will fulfil the mandate that has been entrusted to it.

We are deeply impressed at the examples of heroism of international civil servants in the aftermath of this attack. We must remember the decision of many who have decided to stay on in Iraq despite this attack and the danger they face. Those who have died and those who have been injured must be honoured because they reflect the greatest spirit of selflessness and sacrifice which epitomizes the spirit of the United Nations.

It is obvious that security for the United Nations, its personnel and its programmes must be improved. This is a requirement under resolutions 1472 (2003) and 1483 (2003), which devolves at the moment on the Coalition Provisional Authority. Without security, the objectives with which the United Nations has been entrusted to fulfil, as well as the other objectives of promoting peace and stability in Iraq, cannot be realized. We must, therefore, examine this tragedy and see what steps are required and can be taken to provide more effective security to the United Nations and its operations. There are various options, and we must

explore them. Their acceptance will, in our view, depend first and foremost on their acceptance by the people of Iraq. It is their concurrence that we must also seek.

Obviously, terrorism has come to Iraq and terrorism must be condemned in all its manifestations and must be combated in Iraq as in other parts of the world. But we believe that to combat terrorism in Iraq or elsewhere, it will be essential to win the hearts and the minds of the Iraqi people. Winning the hearts and the minds of the Iraqi people will require several parallel steps by the international community.

First, we hope that the Coalition Provisional Authority will continue the process, with the growing support of the United Nations, to provide humanitarian assistance to the Iraqi people, revive the Iraqi economy and improve the social conditions in that war-devastated country. We hope that Iraqi institutions will be rebuilt in response to the needs and wishes of the Iraqi people.

Secondly, we are convinced that the United Nations will have to assume a larger and wider role in Iraq, in order, inter alia, to enhance legitimacy and the acceptability of the endeavours of the international community to bring stability and progress to Iraq. Paragraphs 98 to 99 of the report of the Secretary-General (S/2003/715) outlines the tasks that need to be undertaken.

Thirdly, we need a clear, inclusive and indigenous political process in Iraq, with a clear sequence leading to a fully representative Iraqi Government that should assume increasing responsibility for all aspects of governance in Iraq.

Finally, let me reiterate a point that Pakistan has made consistently in the Council. All international endeavours in Iraq should be pursued within the framework of the applicable international principles: respect for the unity, territorial integrity and political independence of Iraq; respect for the right of the Iraqi people to choose their own political destiny and form of government; respect for the right to control their own resources; and respect for the religious and cultural traditions of the Iraqi nation.

Mr. Lavrov (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): The appraisals of what happened in Baghdad on 19 August were given by my President and my Minister for Foreign Affairs in their messages to the

Secretary-General and in their public statements. In those statements, the death of Sergio Vieira de Mello and his colleagues was viewed as an irreparable loss to the United Nations and the international community as a whole. The statements stressed that what happened in Baghdad shows us once again that where terrorists go, terrorism will follow, that there is no justification for harbouring terrorists and that they must be fought.

We express indignation at the United Nations having become a target of terrorists. All its efforts in Iraq were directed towards helping the Iraqi people to overcome the consequences of the military conflict and to re-establish a peaceful life. The Russian leadership is convinced that, in spite of this barbarous terrorist act, the international community must continue to participate in finding a solution in Iraq. A necessary condition for that is to ensure the broad, collective involvement of the international community in the reconstruction of Iraq.

Today's briefings by Ambassador Negroponte and Ambassador Jones Parry, and the statements by other members of the Security Council, clearly show that we all desire a stronger and more active United Nations role in Iraq. It is also clear that to that end, we need to be able to guarantee the security of the staff of the United Nations and of other international organizations in Iraq. At the moment, responsibility for protection lies with the members of the coalition. We are prepared to support in the Security Council any further measures to strengthen security for United Nations staff in Iraq. It is also clear that this task is intricately linked to overall security in Iraq. It is clear from the briefings and the ensuing discussion that security is the area in which the greatest problems exist. We are convinced that the security problems can be solved only in conjunction with consideration of other key aspects of the situation in Iraq, such as the political process and a clear timetable for restoring Iraq's sovereignty, the strengthening of humanitarian assistance, cooperation in solving social problems and assistance towards economic recovery. Naturally, all those measures must be accompanied by efforts to establish reliable structures in Iraq for the maintenance of law and order.

I noted that in his statement, Ambassador Jones Parry he invited the Security Council in coming days to study within a multilateral framework the ways and means to enhance United Nations action in Iraq, including by speeding up the political process, addressing social, economic and humanitarian issues

and enhancing security. We are prepared to take part in such a discussion. We believe that Security Council resolution 1500 (2003), together with the ideas that we have heard today, is an excellent starting point for such a discussion. We hope that during the course of the proposed discussion, we will be able to study those ideas and hear responses to the questions raised today, in particular those raised by France. We also believe that for such a discussion to be as fruitful as possible, it would be useful to hear the recommendations of the Secretary-General. Again, we are prepared to take part in such a discussion, which would be timely and which, we believe, should take place as soon as possible.

Mr. Tidjani (Cameroon) (*spoke in French*): First, I must publicly reiterate to the Secretary-General and to the entire United Nations family the condolences of the Government and the people of Cameroon following the sudden and tragic death on 19 August of several United Nations staff members, including the sadly missed Sergio Vieira de Mello, who, with professionalism and determination, performed the delicate tasks of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Iraq. His is a great loss for the international system. With him, we lost one of our finest gems, a genuine apostle of peace, a wizard of post-conflict management.

I also wish to convey Cameroon's full sympathy to Brazil and the other countries struck by that unspeakable tragedy, and to all the afflicted families. The entire world, in solidarity, can only condemn in the strongest terms that barbaric, heinous and cowardly act perpetrated against United Nations staff engaged with faith and passion alongside Iraqis. Those martyrs for peace died helping the Iraqis recover their dignity, independence and happiness in a climate of peace and equitably shared economic and social progress — of which Iraq had been bereft for more than 30 years, suffocated by a brutal and bloody dictatorship.

We have carefully listened to the two briefings by coalition members, and we sincerely thank them. At the present stage, we can only note with interest the detailed and precise information they have given the Council and their assessment of the situation.

At our truly historic public meeting of 22 July 2003, my delegation clearly expressed its support for the recommendations of the Secretary-General contained in his report (S/2003/715) of 17 July 2003, particularly for those recommendations concerning the

creation of the United Nations Assistance Mission in Iraq (UNAMI), subsequently established by Security Council resolution 1500 (2003). At the time of supporting the creation of UNAMI, Cameroon suggested that the Council reflect without delay on the best way for the United Nations to contribute decisively to solving the thorny question of the lack of security that is currently affecting all else in Iraq. We believe that it is time to hasten that reflection and to take the appropriate decisions on the challenges to be met.

In the view of my delegation, for a month now it has seemed necessary to add a military component to the United Nations mission in Iraq. That could possibly take the form of a multinational force with a clear and robust mandate, whose scope of action should be clearly defined. Even if comparisons do not provide all the answers, the Council could find inspiration in other models in which a United Nations force has worked alongside a parallel international force in the same country. We are, of course, facing a case with different characteristics, but, in Iraq, as elsewhere, promoting peace, security and the social and economic progress of a suffering people demands action from the Security Council. Whether it is the people of Afghanistan, the Democratic Republic of the Congo or Iraq, necessity dictates what must be done.

The Secretary-General has reaffirmed his determination to continue the unfinished yet promising work of Mr. Vieira de Mello and his team. It is up to us to create optimal security conditions to ensure the success of that work. We owe this to them.

The other activity to pursue in carrying on with the efforts that Mr. Vieira de Mello has made is to call on the countries of the region for cooperation to support the reconstruction efforts in Iraq, as well as the political process, which must very soon lead to free and democratic elections.

Finally, I would like to appeal to the coalition to be more open to the United Nations and its Members. This means that it must be more transparent, clarify its activities and purposes in Iraq and, in particular, promote the quick restoration to Iraqis of the administrative, political and economic management of their country.

We are all involved in the renewal and reconstruction of Iraq, whether we like it or not. This is a challenge that we must meet together to honour the

memory of Mr. Vieira de Mello and other United Nations staff members who were victims of the heinous 19 August attack.

Mr. Sow (Guinea) (*spoke in French*): My delegation would like first of all to congratulate Ambassadors Negroponte of the United States and Emyr Jones Parry of the United Kingdom for the comprehensive briefings and in-depth analyses that they have just given us on the recent developments of the situation in Iraq.

It is always with untold horror and sadness that we address that question, and this is especially true in the wake of the heinous attack on the United Nations headquarters in Baghdad, which caused wanton destruction and loss of human lives. The activities of the Organization symbolized the determination of the international community to participate courageously in the reconstruction of Iraq.

I would like in that respect to express once again the sincerest condolences of the people and Government of Guinea to the bereaved families and the United Nations family as a whole for these irreparable losses, which have affected dedicated and talented staff members who have devoted their recognized experience and expertise to the service of the Iraqi people.

We are especially shocked that the United Nations has lost one of the leading lights in its diplomatic, human rights and peacekeeping work through this unspeakable attack: the greatly lamented Sergio Vieira de Mello. The statement that he made to us in this context highlights the magnitude of the challenges that the Council must meet to accomplish its vital mandate of promoting international peace and security.

My delegation believes that the Council has the imperative duty to reflect on the most appropriate ways and means to stem the manichean designs of the terrorists. We think it is no accident that the attack against the United Nations occurred only four days after the adoption of the Security Council resolution that officially established the United Nations mission in Iraq, and following a strengthening of its presence there. Nor is it coincidental that that attack was planned and carried out to make it the deadliest assault on the United Nations since its establishment in 1945. We are convinced that the terrorists have a fundamental objective: to jeopardize the achievements made in Iraq

by preventing the economic, political and institutional reforms under way as a result of the moment established by the coalition and with the assistance of the international community.

The two briefings clearly showed that the situation in Iraq was improving in a relatively satisfactory way from the humanitarian, institutional and political standpoint. My delegation commends the laudable efforts made by the members of the coalition, which have made it possible to put an end to years of repression, discrimination, suffering and deprivation of individual and collective freedoms. We welcome the achievements already made in the economic, infrastructural, political and cultural spheres. We are pleased to see that despite the violence, Iraqis are increasingly responsible for their fate and that an interim Governing Council that reflects national diversity has been established. The Government of Guinea fully supports the work of that Council.

The attack of last Tuesday strengthens my delegation's conviction that the Security Council must support the process of reconstructing a new Iraq, particularly by promoting the establishment of new and democratic institutions.

We believe that the heinous and unacceptable act that has just struck the United Nations should not discourage the international community. We must be increasingly aware of the need to give an enlarged and consolidated mandate to the United Nations so that it can meet the present challenge.

We must stay the course and reconsider the structure of our mission in Iraq, particularly the security measures that can be taken immediately. It would be useful for the Secretary-General to evaluate as soon as possible the situation on the ground to create more reliable security and safety conditions to carry out the work of our Organization. The security task is indeed our highest priority. It must receive our fullest attention if we are to succeed. Everything must be done to arrest and bring to justice the perpetrators of the attack. The humanitarian efforts of the international community must be pursued and strengthened. We must make unfailing efforts to help the suffering Iraqi people to take their destiny in their own hands.

In conclusion, my country would like to encourage the activities of the coalition, the international community and all those who are working

on the ground to build a peaceful, safe, democratic and reconciled Iraq.

Mr. Arias (Spain) (*spoke in Spanish*): It is not easy to find words to describe the terrorist attack, which has claimed the lives of Mr. Vieira de Mello and dozens of others, including a Spanish naval officer. The unthinkable has happened. The United Nations has indeed been attacked in an outrageous, heinous act. Our delegation sends its condolences to the families of the victims of this criminal attack.

I am grateful to the ambassadors of the United States and the United Kingdom for their briefings, which were made in this grim atmosphere, on some advances that have been made in certain areas. This also shows us the magnitude of the tasks that lie ahead, which can be summarized in three areas: security, the political process and the economy.

The first, and very important, task pertains to security. The terrorists who carried out Tuesday's attack and the handful of people who harbour nostalgia for the regime of Saddam Hussain are primarily seeking to create an atmosphere of chaos that will splinter the international community. They must not succeed in their objective. Unfortunately, however, there will be setbacks. Nevertheless, the international community must stand firm with regard to its presence in Iraq and its determination to bring peace to that country. With regard to the security of United Nations personnel in particular, it will be necessary to find a mechanism to effectively protect both the Organization's staff and humanitarian workers, while at the same time respecting their independence.

No less important to the political process is the need for the Iraqi people to continue and heighten their involvement in shaping their own political future. It is for that reason that we support the establishment of the Iraqi Governing Council as an important first step towards a democratically elected Government and the full exercise by the Iraqi people of their sovereignty as soon as possible.

The third aspect to which I have referred is the task of economic reconstruction. To meet that challenge, it is essential that the international community respond generously by participating in the donors' conference, to be held at Madrid in October, with the renewed intention of redoubling its financial efforts to overcome the current situation.

My country is in Iraq with a single objective, namely, to return peace, stability and freedom to that country. We seek a prosperous Iraq in which its own peoples are able to determine their future free from obstacles and despotism. To that end we have sent an outstanding brigade to Iraq that includes 1,300 troops from Spain and other troops from the brotherly countries of El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua and the Dominican Republic.

I do not believe that this is the time for recrimination or inquiries about how some of us behaved in the past two to four months. Efforts to analyse the motivation behind the actions of some members of the international community are pointless, counterproductive at the moment and unlikely to contribute in any way to achieving what I believe all of us want, namely, peace and freedom for all Iraqis.

In conclusion, the tragic events of last Tuesday should only serve to reaffirm our determination that the United Nations continue to play the ongoing and expanding role we want it to play and that the international community continue to work to meet the legitimate aspirations of the Iraqi people. The memory of all who have given their lives for that cause, as well as the credibility of the United Nations itself, demand it.

Mr. Aguilar Zinser (Mexico) (*spoke in Spanish*): My delegation would like to thank the Ambassadors of the United States and the United Kingdom for their briefings on the activities carried out by their countries in Iraq in their capacity as the coalition established as the authority in Iraq and in accordance with the obligations imposed upon them by international humanitarian law as occupying Powers as well as by virtue of Security Council resolution 1483 (2003). We are grateful for those briefings because they provide us with information that is essential for the Security Council to be able to assess conditions in Iraq and properly channel the efforts of the United Nations in that country.

Mexico perceived the news of the attack on United Nations headquarters in Iraq last Tuesday as an act of aggression against our own country and an attack on all members of the United Nations. Mexico's President and its Minister for Foreign Affairs have already conveyed our condolences on behalf of all Mexicans to the Secretary-General, the entire staff of the United Nations and the leaders of the countries

whose nationals were victims of that devious and abominable act of terrorism. As both a cause and a method, terrorism is nothing but an irrational expression of hatred and a dehumanizing act. We must not become fearful because of terrorism or yield in our efforts to combat it. Mexico believes that the Security Council and its members must take very seriously the issue of protecting the humanitarian staff of the United Nations, the international community and non-governmental organizations, especially in conflict situations. A deliberate attack against humanitarian staff such as the one that took place in Iraq constitutes a war crime and a crime against humanity that must be prosecuted as such. The international community must unite its efforts to ensure that those responsible answer for their actions accordingly. The Security Council must also send a very clear message and take concrete and effective steps to increase protection and strengthen the instruments protecting humanitarian staff. My country will remain vigilant in that regard and will redouble its efforts to have the Council take effective steps towards that end.

Mexico mourns the death of Sergio Vieira de Mello. Just two months after having arrived in Iraq, his energy, conviction, talent, sensitivity and skill as an international civil servant made an indelible mark on Iraq. His example and perseverance will continue to be part of the spirit of the Organization and of every United Nations staff member remaining in Iraq. In fulfilling the Council's mandate, Mr. Vieira de Mello began to work immediately in support of the efforts of the people of Iraq to regain their sovereignty and end the military occupation. He did so by setting up genuinely representative bodies that could lead to the emergence of a Government capable of effectively exercising Iraq's sovereignty. Mr. Vieira de Mello assumed the role of interlocutor with spirited determination. Instead of locking himself up in his office, Mr. Vieira de Mello travelled throughout the country to speak to every sector of society, thereby getting a very clear idea of what the Iraqi people wanted. Shortly before his death, he told a Brazilian newspaper that the coalition forces needed to give the Iraqi people greater confidence and send the signal that the occupation is temporary by announcing a timetable for their withdrawal. Mr. Vieira de Mello added that this would reduce tension among the population and probably also put an end to attacks on foreign soldiers.

Having heard the briefings provided to the Security Council this morning by the United States and the United Kingdom, we express our hope that the appeals made by Mr. Vieira de Mello and the Secretary-General will be heeded, and that very soon a timetable will be set for the withdrawal of military occupation, as well as a timetable for the establishment of a legitimate, representative political authority that will reclaim the right of the Iraqi people to decide on their own future. Without a clear horizon in this regard, the reconstruction of Iraq will be increasingly difficult.

The United Nations has been attacked by terrorism in Iraq; we all have been attacked. But those who will feel the effects of this act of aggression the most — its most direct victims — are the Iraqis themselves, the people of that country. The United Nations is not a party to the conflict. The United Nations is in Iraq side by side with the Iraqi people, and this is certainly the framework in which a solution must be found. Only the United Nations has, in its Charter, the legal mandate, the moral and political authority and the international legitimacy to confront the most serious challenges to international peace and security. That is why the United Nations must not only continue to fulfil its tasks in Iraq; its efforts must have greater depth, and its support for the Iraqi people must be yet more vigorous.

The United Nations must also support, organize and channel international efforts in support of Iraq. In current circumstances, and in accordance with resolution 1483 (2003) and with international law, the authority emanating from the occupying Powers is responsible for security in the territory of Iraq. Independently, the United Nations, through the Mission established by the Council, is conducting humanitarian action in support of the economic, social and political reconstruction of the country.

The harsh blow dealt the United Nations by that terrorist attack obliges us to reaffirm the presence of the United Nations in Iraq and to broaden it, and perhaps also to reformulate the terms of our presence there. Towards that end, the United Nations must continue actively to deal with the situation in Iraq.

My country will be examining the reports submitted to us by Ambassadors Jones Parry and Negroponte, in accordance with resolution 1483 (2003). In that context, we will participate in the Council's deliberations on the future of the United

Nations in Iraq. My country considers that the situation in Iraq is critical, with the potential for extremely grave consequences for its neighbours and for international peace and security.

We share the view expressed around this table that Iraq needs the support, the presence and the renewed efforts of the international community in order to restore peace and security as well as the rule of law and to recover its sovereignty. It is the responsibility of the Council to decide on the best way of organizing these efforts and to guide and direct them. The humanitarian presence in Iraq depends on this, as does the channeling of effective resources for reconstruction.

Mexico believes that the Organization must provide guidance for all of the efforts and endeavours of the international community in Iraq. That is our conviction.

Mr. Lucas (Angola): My delegation would like at the outset to thank the Permanent Representatives of the United Kingdom and of the United States for their briefings on the situation in Iraq, as provided for in resolution 1483 (2003). The assessment presented to the Council on the work done in Iraq is impressive, particularly if we take into account the immensity of the tasks that remain to be accomplished.

This open briefing to the Security Council by the representatives of the coalition is taking place at a time of profound sadness and mourning for the entire United Nations family and for the international community. We convey our heartfelt condolences to the families of the victims and to the United Nations. The death of Sergio Vieira de Mello was a huge loss, not only for his relatives and for the United Nations, but also for the countless people to whom he gave the best of his abilities in order to better their lot.

The United Nations is living through the most tragic hours of its existence, and the aftermath of a tragedy is always the occasion for reflection and reassessment and for the adoption of new courses of action. Many questions arise after the events of 19 August, of which I will mention a few.

Why the attack against the United Nations, whose presence in Iraq is strictly peaceful? What went wrong with United Nations security in Baghdad? Which measures are needed in order to prevent similar events? Who were the perpetrators of that vicious attack? What

can be done to defuse the Iraqi resistance and recourse to terrorist acts? Did international terrorists infiltrate Iraq, and are they conducting operations in the country? What measures are needed to conquer the hearts and minds of the Iraqis? What course of action should the United Nations and the coalition exercising power in Iraq adopt following the tragic events that took place in Baghdad?

Those are some of the questions which the Security Council and the coalition Powers must answer in the coming days and weeks in order to move forward, with renewed confidence, the process of the pacification and national reconstruction of Iraq, bearing in mind one basic assumption: the coalition Powers have no option left but to carry on with their task, no matter the price they will be obliged to pay and the difficulties they will encounter on that hard, rocky and treacherous road.

It is imperative that, on the day the coalition Powers decide to leave the country, Iraq have an internationally recognized Government, State institutions and a process of economic recovery in place and, above all, that it be a country at peace.

The United Nations is also left with very narrow options. The Security Council, by reaffirming its determination to assist the Iraqi people to build peace and justice in their country and to determine their own political future, and by declaring that the United Nations will continue with its operations in Iraq and not be intimidated by such attacks, took a clear stand by pledging its commitment to continuing to provide assistance to the Iraqi people.

In our view, it is absolutely necessary, at this juncture, that the Authority, the United Nations and the Governing Council of Iraq close ranks at this critical hour, step up the fight against terrorism and devise the proper strategies — political, economic, security-related and psychological — to counter it.

The Security Council has already begun, and will continue in the coming days and weeks, a thorough debate relating to the questions that the terrorist attack against the United Nations in Baghdad brought back to the agenda. It is our expectation that the Council will find the most appropriate ways to ensure security for the United Nations mission in Iraq and for its personnel, measures to strengthen the relationship between the United Nations and the Iraqi people, and how best to assist the Iraqi people in rebuilding its

country, in reinstating its national sovereignty and in overcoming the very difficult moments it is currently going through.

The President (*spoke in Arabic*): I shall now make a statement in my capacity as representative of the Syrian Arab Republic.

Grief has engulfed the United Nations and the Security Council in the wake of the horrendous attack on the United Nations headquarters in Baghdad, killing many innocent people, including the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello.

The Government of Syria immediately denounced this despicable act, stressing the importance of a continued and enhanced role for the United Nations in Iraq. Furthermore, President Bashar Al-Assad conveyed his condolences to the President of Brazil, in which he denounced and deplored this heinous criminal act. Mr. Farouk Al-Shara', Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Syria, addressed a message to the Secretary-General expressing his shock over this criminal act of aggression against the United Nations headquarters in Baghdad and extending his heartfelt condolences over the loss of Mr. Vieira de Mello.

The Syrian leadership has first-hand experience of his dedication to the pivotal role which the United Nations should play in assisting Iraq to recover its independence and freedom. Syria supports the beliefs and vision which the late Mr. Vieira de Mello so faithfully upheld and which stressed the importance of ending the occupation of Iraq and of that country's recovery of its freedom, sovereignty, political independence and control over its natural resources. He called on the Secretary-General to implement this vision and to make it a reality, which, in his view, represented the way out of Iraq's current dilemma.

The suffering of the Iraqi people is a source of concern to all peoples throughout the world. The Syrian Arab Republic, through various institutions, has made every possible effort to alleviate the suffering of the Iraqis by extending medical, food and other material assistance, supplementing similar efforts undertaken by Arab and other States and by the United Nations and its various programmes providing assistance sorely needed by the Iraqi people.

The Arab ministers for foreign affairs, members of the Follow-up and Action Committee of the Council of the League of Arab States, held an important meeting in Cairo on 5 August at which they discussed the situation in the Arab sphere in all its aspects. The Arab ministers reaffirmed the need for Iraq to recover its sovereignty over its land and resources, for an end to the occupation and for the rapid establishment of a national Government in accordance with a clearly defined schedule. The Arab ministers stressed the need of a pivotal role for the United Nations in the political process in Iraq and for the Organization to cooperate with the League of Arab States and with other regional and national actors to that end, under the aegis of the Security Council.

At the meeting, the ministers also agreed to establish a committee — to include Syria, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Jordan, Qatar, Tunisia and the Secretary-General of the League of Arab States — to

follow up developments in Iraq and to establish the necessary international contacts in this regard.

In conclusion, we wish to affirm that Iraq, throughout its time-honoured history, has overcome many challenges and emerged victorious. Iraqis have contributed to building an Arab civilization in which we all take pride. We are confident that Iraq will overcome its current hardship and ultimately succeed, despite the destruction and grief, thanks to the unity of its people and the support of its Arab brethren, the international community and the United Nations.

I now resume my functions as President of the Security Council.

There are no further speakers on my list. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 12.50 p.m.